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of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new people formed by large and repeated infusions

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the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania has been invaded by countless civilized, half-civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

177 successively invaded and obtained, for a time
175 at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passage-way for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

• 177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 852 [779] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian beys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [779 177]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

MR. STUART GLENNIE'S suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kíelh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uí*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st
789 of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
777 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
[805] many colours on the wrists and necks of their children, but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests.
[177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. I. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1]

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much inter-borrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta, &c.*; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

[p. 299]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from
•177 those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious
773 legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the
[262] reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 Some of the sayings proverbially current among
773 the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling
[776] from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Albanian coast. The freedom of the Straits of Otranto was, 175
indeed, the vital interest of the republic; and it was Venice which, in part, supplied the sinews of war and the liaison officers with which Skanderbeg defied the armies of the Sultan.

The Turkish occupation of Albania provided the Ottoman [177] ●
Empire with a useful shield against attacks out of the Adriatic; and for close on five centuries the country was preserved from other foreign influences. In the Napoleonic wars, however, while Britain and France wrestled for supremacy in the Mediterranean, their agents began to intrigue with Ali the Lion, Pasha of Yannina, to secure control of the Straits of Otranto. Thereafter the slow dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to an Albanian Question; and, as the nineteenth century advanced, the nations of Europe addressed themselves with growing interest to the problem of the country's future. Great Britain, the dominant sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, strove to exclude her potential rivals from this strategic area, and for long buttressed the crumbling authority of the Turk. Russia encouraged the designs of her Serbian and Montenegrin satellites on Albanian territory, to extend her influence to the warm waters and deny their access to the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary and Italy, as rival Adriatic powers, each sought to establish its predominance in Albania, " the possession of which ", as Count Tittoni observed, " would mean for either Italy or Austria-Hungary the incontestable supremacy of the Adriatic Sea ".

The balance of contending forces long sustained the rule of the Turk in Albania and served the aims of British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory, however, of the Balkan Allies in the war of 1912 brought the Ottoman Empire in Europe to an end. A partition of Albania was threatened; but the jealousies of the Powers led, in the following year, to the creation, for the first time in centuries, of an independent Albanian state. At the time the new principality was characterised as " an illegitimate child of Austrian diplomacy with Italy figuring as the midwife "; but its emergence, none the less, conformed with alternative policies long advocated in the Foreign Office.

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trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains continually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, moreover, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived. In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of conviction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King 668 Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EGL

merchants whose children had received a European education, either in the foreign schools that were introduced into Albania, or in their studies abroad. These young men had no roots in landed property or among the tribes and could find no outlet for their energies within the narrow limits of independent Albania such as the Ottoman Empire had offered earlier generations. They were thus peculiarly susceptible to the influence of revolutionary ideas. In other countries such young men often inclined to Fascism, but in Albania Fascism was the creed of the foreign overlord and, in their search for faith and discipline, they therefore turned to the Communists. It is unlikely that there were ever more than two, or at the most three, thousand of these young men, but they were to be the backbone of the Communist organisation and the leaders under whom the landless peasants were organised. The combined discontent of these two classes — the youth of the towns and the landless peasants — produced a social revolutionary movement, which presently won the support of many of the richer peasants as well by its appeal to their patriotism or their land-hunger. This, in turn, provoked the more conservative elements to combine for the defence of their own interests; and so the general unrest among the Tosks was increased.

The general poverty of the Albanians, their resentment of foreign rule, the anarchy and mercenary economy of the Ghegs, and the growth of a crisis in social relationships among the Tosks were thus the conditions out of which the Albanian resistance movement grew. Its several parts, though mainly nourished by domestic discontents, were soon invested with a pro-Allied and anti-Axis character by leaders who were variously animated by the desire to free their country, the hope of obtaining foreign support, and the opportunity of exploiting the popular hatred of the Italians. For long these different movements were but armed bands of outlaws, more concerned with maintaining themselves than with attacking the enemy. Nevertheless, as the prestige of the Italians declined with the succession of their defeats, so more and more people grew convinced that there was less to be feared from resistance than there was to be gained. Then, with the help of British and Communist agents,

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics, though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

[177]

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[1] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç and Kushnen, which

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[2] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d — Analyst]

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*).[1] His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [77] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our
619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman* says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

● [177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[1] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[1 See cat. 116, p. 40 b.--Analyst]

* Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[See cat 116, pp 20b-21a -- Analyst]

[10] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] and others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vuko Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]

2 [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

[18] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

1 [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that. 428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his 592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were 777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European [77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between 428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be 514 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

113, 167, 177

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[For a brief statement regarding the status and organization of the 3,000 Albanians in the Soviet Union said to have survived World War II, see 21:Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147. A bibliographic note citing a Soviet ethnographic study of this group appears on p. 161.]

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations. The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches. Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half underground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things). The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles. Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings (kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1), out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[53] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8); wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

ooo night owing to the prodigious snoring of my room-mate. I have never heard such an organ-pipe of a snore, or such an alarming accompaniment of grunts, wheezes, and explosive noises of every imaginable kind. To make matters worse —if anything could have been worse—there was a stork's nest on the corner of the roof immediately above us, and the storks replied to the sounds beneath by clashing their beaks like a watchman's rattle.

A TOSC

The snorer, I afterwards discovered, was an Italian visiting Valona in connection with war-graves—or that at least was the ostensible reason of his presence. Personally I think he was a political agent.

Valona, which is a town of considerable size, has an Italian look, and owes, indeed, much both to Italian and to Austrian influence. The Austrians occupied it for some time during the war. It possesses a light railway which is still in partial use, though to what extent and for what distance from the town I was not able to ascertain

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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.
(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).
(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).
(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).
(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 36]

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(f) Turkish shoes.

(g) " Bunches of coloured handkerchiefs hanging from the pocket hole of the giubba or coat under the japangi " (M.E.D.).

[292] Married Catholic women for outdoor wear add a " japangi ", that is, a large scarlet cape with brilliant embroideries, having a flap down the back to be used instead of the square head-dress or the veil (Plate XII).

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The men wear a shirt and folded girdle, often of striped silk, through which weapons are thrust, short Turkish trousers (Plate VIf), a sleeveless jelek (Plate VIa), or a jacket with open sleeves (Plate VIc and d) and a small round hat with a tassel, like an old-fashioned smoking cap (cf. Plate XVID).

The Moslem women of Scutari wear :—

(a) A similar shirt, but with wide open sleeves, often elaborately embroidered and usually of fine muslin.

(b) Full Turkish trousers of striped or embroidered silk or gauze (Plate VIe).

(c) A short-waisted jelek, or a long-skirted coat without sleeves or, for older women, with bell-shaped sleeves.

(d) As head-dress, a cap decorated with coins or a thick yashmak.

The women of Zadrima, a town on the River Drin, wear :—

(a) A shirt of similar style to those of Scutari, but sometimes with a cross-over front like a Chinese jacket fastening on the wrong side.

(b) Full skirts of heavy material, accordion pleated.

(c) A jelek, usually ornamented in scarlet and yellow.

(d) An apron which may be of the heavy tapestry type or of muslin, embroidered.

(e) Long scarves with decorated ends for head-dresses.

(f) Knitted and embroidered leggings and sandals (" opanga ").

The men of Zadrima wear a jelek, either sleeveless or of the half-sleeve type (Plate VIc) over their shirt, Turkish trousers with elaborately hand-braided designs on the hips and outside of legs (Plate VIf), a leather belt for weapons and a round cap-like hat.

Another type of costume which is worn in many parts of old Macedonia is that of the Bulgar woman from Monastir (Bitolj), where the long shirt of heavy linen or calico (Plate IXA), heavily embroidered at the sleeves and hem, acts also as a skirt, and is girdled at the waist with rows of cord forming a sort of corset, which is decorated with silver ornaments. A handsome heavy tapestry apron worked in scarlet (Plate IXc), and a wide scarf (Plate IXB) with heavily embroidered ends complete the costume.

This type of garment, with its long front opening, is a very ancient form, and is similar to some of the early Egyptian garments*.

The women of the mountain tribes wear :—

(a) A shirt, sometimes with cloth sleeves decorated with coloured strips of felt, similar to the trimming on the skirt.

(b) A full skirt of heavy cloth with appliquéd patterns.

(c) A jelek or a jacket (" mitan ") (Plate VId) in which case the shirt does not have sleeves of cloth.

* L. E. Start : " Coptic Cloths." Bankfield Museum Notes, Ser. II. No. 4.

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291 286 531 **No. 1935-68.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[72] 648

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house.

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 134 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ τῶν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called **k u l a**, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called **K a l a**, at the West of Antiocheia...)

9:Megas 1, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

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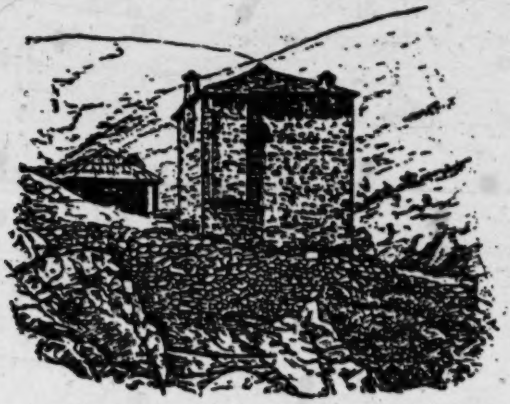

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe (Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages[1]), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

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1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἐσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, «many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace» (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (3). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors and is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 231), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: «It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact» (2).

A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. I B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Viora,** p. 56.

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342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)(1).
171 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we
177 except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong
C probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to
177 Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and
G historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian archi-
[331] tecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlora p. 57 and Plate VI.